476 to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Wundurucú.
[573] The Wundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

621 476 It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

476 554 Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society.
554 Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Wundurucú lore and not by economic means. In-
[534] deed, the Wundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Wundurucú did not compare people

835 * It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Wundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

and, even among the more acculturated Munduruc\u00fa, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Munduruc\u00fa modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

Munduruc\u00fa society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Munduruc\u00fa villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patrilineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Munduruc\u00fa was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Munduruc\u00fa as a "republic."[9] The Munduruc\u00fa felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Munduruc\u00fa they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a groupe they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their council. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the man who had taken heads. They were referred to as dajeboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title a'ebci. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn't hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies centering around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were participated in by people from many villages. After a successful expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies, thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Cawe, paiçé, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were amassed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to the ears, and affixing paca teeth over the eye sockets. On the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and it was hung in a corner of the men's house, and on the third and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been removed immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the Dabakbahi'anyen (literally, "mothers of the arrow"), a singing society to which most of the Wuduruçú males belonged. After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife resumed their normal lives.

The highest honor achievable for a Wuduruçú man was to become a muchacha, or one of the society of learned and distinguished warriors. All members of this society had at one time taken a head and all were founts of Wuduruçú learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of the muchacha was that of the trophy head owner (dajeboishi).

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

776 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Munduruc warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Munduruc, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Munduruc culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Munduruc religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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476 252 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

476 423 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either 552 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader [551] were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

622 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *awyédabat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mun- [578] durucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-3 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

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took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[2]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental; it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 A young man who made great claims
554] of prowess was pushed to the fore dur-
157] ing the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 The suppression of individual inter-
577 ests in favor of those of the collectivity
579 of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the
[639] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

[p. 572(A)]

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

554 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[441] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

184 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

131 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are commonly conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Mundurucú currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Mundurucú since their first contact with Europeans. But the Mundurucú do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature though the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Mundurucú as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting. 753

THE SHAMAN

The Mundurucú shaman, or *mamú*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world; he rids the community of evil forces; and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance. 756

Most Mundurucú villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more aculturated Mundurucú, a small present is sometimes given to the shaman for a cure, but this pattern appears to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects. [554] [465]

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Mundurucú shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriši*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups.

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapö*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back.

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

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796 had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person
727 who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the
554 forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for
834 if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to
[515] bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head,
796 the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all re-
727 united for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorŏm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night song-fest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

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796 727 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the rite, the *Dajeboiši* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life. [554]

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajeboiši* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Darekši;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 224 Two ceremonies, the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip,* were held in honor of the spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Araiarai,* except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat,* or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 224 292 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the beginning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

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883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the
[882] occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his primary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[756] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

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in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

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178 554 578 622 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapájós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

178 578 622 The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

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owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

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ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucú activity or in their relationships with the outside world. He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my [illegible] discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so [illegible]. They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be misinterpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucú society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucú type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucú society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Biboi's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Biboi not only misconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Biboi's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Biboi had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Biboi's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim.

IV

Biboi's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutú. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

439 the chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and
622 rear them in his household; this is what happened to Biboi. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Mundurucú villagers.[3]

The contemporary Mundurucú chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by maximal adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Biboi's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

627 Caetano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Mundurucú traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

622 Biboi's position was very different from that of his father, for he was
177 the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Biboi in dealings with Cabitutú. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded his as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was,
[756] in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

622 Biboi's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under
554 thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabitutú. Matrilocality, I have
[591] said, is the normal mode of residence among the Mundurucú, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Much as this may reënforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrua to buttress his position.

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutú stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader.

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucú social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutú, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutú. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabrua where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

This brings us through most of the key features of Munduruku culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Munduruku canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Biboi returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabrua. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabrua and with the trader. Moreover, Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabrua. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the Cabrua men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabrua attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabrua from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Biboi's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabituto to Cabruá. And Biboi ran back and forth between Cabituto, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruá, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Biboi's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Biboi had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Castano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabituto would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Biboi came immediately to Cabruá and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Biboi approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in fine Biboi style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Biboi knew that his life as a Munduruc was finished.

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NOTES

(1) Munduruc Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Munduruc social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).